THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

ROMANIAN HISTORICAL STUDIES
1992

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INTRODUCTION

After Nicolae Ceauşescu, that bloodthirsty Romanian Stalin, was done away with in December 1989, the name of the *Iron Guard* has become topical both in Romania and abroad. That Romanian social movement, also known as the movement of the legionaries, has been and continues to be described in the most abhorrent colors that were ever used by the communists to abuse their adversaries.

The Romanian legionaries found their source of inspiration in the Christian religion, in patriotism, in their national culture and in the history of the Romanian people. Consequently they are placed at the other extremity from the Marxian ideology, which is internationalist, atheistic and materialistic. It was immediately after December 1989 that the smear campaign against the legionaries was initiated. Ever since, there was no act, no event, no happening that could even vaguely indicate that there is a reawakening of the movement of the legionaries in Romania's political life. We can, however, see this furious smear campaign waged by the enemies of the Christian religion and of the culture and traditions of the Romanians as the outcome of their fear that a reawakening and resurrection of the Legionary Movement could put them in a position to account for all the crimes they have committed. As a matter of fact, the intensity of the Marxists' smear campaign against the Legionary Movement is a gauge of the fear and the guilt of those oppressors of the Romanian people whose reign was called in question in December 1989.

To counteract this overwhelming smear campaign which threatens to submerge the Legionary Movement, its members issued in the summer of 1990 a statement meant to shed some light into the matter, under the title *To Know the Truth*. We give it below in translation, followed by three documents:

- the acquittal of the *Iron Guard* at the Nazi trials in Nuremberg;
- an account of what really happened in Bucharest in 1941, when the enemies of the Legionary Movement claim that several thousands of Jews were massacred;
- statements made by the Romanian statesman Iuliu Maniu, former President of the Romanian National Peasants' Party, and by Nicolae Panescu, former General Secretary of the same party, about the Legionary Movement.

We hope that by making this information available to the public all over the world it will become easier to find out the truth about the movement of spiritual regeneration of the Romanian people that was the Legionary Movement under Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

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STATEMENT OF THE ROMANIAN LEGIONARIES

TO KNOW THE TRUTH

1990

Horia Sima

This statement was published under the auspices of the Political Council of the Legion with the aim of informing the public of Romania and abroad.

I. NATIONAL REVOLUTION

It is with unbounded joy that the Romanian legionaries do homage to the heroic action of December 22, 1989 of the younger generation, whose sacrifice in blood and in the thousands of dead throughout the country served to ignite the Great National Revolution which caused Ceauşescu's hateful dictatorship to be overthrown.

The Romanian legionaries believe that the summary trial of the bloodthirsty tyrant Ceauşescu was both merited and needful. Had there not been an execution in this revolutionary style, the national insurgent action would have been paid for with the additional loss of thousands of lives. Those who, whether they are exiled Romanians or just citizens of western democratic countries, disapprove of the exceptional tribunal who judged Ceauşescu, are not taking into account the priorities which confronted that popular uprising and which called for immediate and effective steps to ensure the final success of the revolution. What did those advocates of human rights have to say when Ceauşescu was murdering thousands of citizens without a trial? Their attitude shows only hypocrisy and false pretense and by no means does it signify respect for the sacred human rights.

II. THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE NEW DEMOCRATIC STATE

As soon as they came into power, President Iliescu's present-day team signed a decree by which all political parties have the right to organize and to advertise, except the Legionary Movement, which they describe as "fascist" and extremist. We most strongly protest against this unjust discrimination which casts a slur on the authors of the decree.

To prove how far from the truth are the leaders of the present-day Romanian government, when they call us "fascists," we quote from Walter Hagen, well-known researcher of interwar nationalist movements in Europe:

"The *Iron Guard* or *The Legion* emerged at the end of 1920, at the University of Yassy: a group of Romanian students formed this organization under the leadership of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. It is customary to list the *Iron Guard* with fascist and national-socialist movements. However, the *Iron Guard* did not imitate those two kinds of movements; it grew from its own distinct roots. It has absolutely nothing to do with the numerous clones of fascism and national-socialism of other countries. It cannot be related to movements in Italy and Germany that were contemporary to it. The political classifications that hold good in Central and Western Europe do not hold good for it.It was authoritarian, not totalitarian; there is a vast difference. It never was aggressively nationalistic, but conservatively nationalistic, even when dealing with culture; it never was placed at the extreme right, as a political reaction, but adopted a stance of social reform; unlike fascism and national-socialism, it did not rely on the petty bourgeoisie, on office workers and similar social strata that proliferated after World War I, but first and

foremost it relied on the Romanian peasant masses, on the young professionals and on the students.

"In the first place, it differed from the established state political parties of Italy and Germany through its Christian religious spirit which verged on mysticism. Codreanu had the air of a prophet rather than of a political chief and was venerated by his followers almost as a saint. Moreover, the "Fuehrerprinzip" (the principle of the leader's supremacy) was never a fixed dogma with the *Iron Guard*: decisions were not always made by Codreanu but also by a collegium, a sort of "Forum", made up of tried legionary commanders" (Walter Hagen, *Die Geheime Front,* pp.277-278).

We quote this passage here in its entirety because this author, though a foreigner, sensed with rare accuracy the very essence of the Legionary Movement endowed with its own directions of creativity which are independent of fascism and national-socialism.

The banning of the Legionary Movement by today's Romanian leaders goes to prove not only that they lack the most rudimentary knowledge of the history of their nation but also that they are dangerously emulating the propaganda and the directives they inherited from the previous régime of Nicolae Ceauşescu. All that the generations of citizens who grew up during those dark years of oppression and crime heard about the *Iron Guard* since their early schooldays, and every day in the media, was the most odious accusations, among which the labels of "fascism" or "national-socialism" were not absent, but appeared even combined as "nazi-fascism". In this respect today's Romanian government does nothing but carry on an approach and a propaganda style that are typical of Ceauşescu's bygone régime.

The lack of ethics and of honor of the government that rules Romania today, after the Great December Revolution, is the more blatant as those the government wishes to

destroy are exactly the generation that made the greatest sacrifices in resisting the reign of terror of the previous régime. The political prisons, the concentration camps, and other sites of the régime's oppressive actions, stand witness to the thousands of young people who were done to death there and of whom the greatest part were members of the Legionary Movement.

No group of people can claim that they overthrew the tyrant if they persecute the generation that bore the brunt of the deadly attack of the tyrant's henchmen.

There is, however, another matter that goes to the root of today's government which claims that it is democratic. If there is a democratic régime in Romania, as its leaders allege, then it is not the government, it is not the leaders, that have the right and the duty to decide who is and who is not democratic. The people may have a different opinion and a different view of the Legionary Movement and may refuse to discriminate against it politically. The people may refuse to vote for it in elections, but may also entrust it with its mandate and may send its candidates to parliament. In almost all western countries there are right-wing political parties that participate in elections and are admitted as such by the other political parties. Either we have a democracy, in which case the government may not deny this movement the right to participate in elections, or we do not have a democracy but a dictatorship disguised for the moment in a democratic semblance, in which case the procedure through which the Legionary Movement was excluded falls into place, and what we have before us is but a new version of the old régime.

III. THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT AND TERRORISM

Our adversaries, whose dedication to freedom and democracy is such that they will not even allow us to defend ourselves, and who confiscate our literature to prevent it from reaching the public, have one more arrow to their bow against us, which they use quite frequently in public debates to justify why they are hostile to us. They keep speaking of the alleged terrorism of the *Iron Guard* and give instances of crimes they allege we have committed.

But our adversaries deal in half truths. They never mention or comment on what happened before those "crimes" of the legionaries took place, they never show the reasons why some of the legionaries, exasperated and driven beyond any limit, took the law in their own hands. We will survey here the alleged "crimes of the legionaries", and will show how they were preceded by a chain of illegal actions, abusive actions, and murders perpetrated by the state authorities, that is, exactly by those whose work it was to protect the rights and the freedom of the people.

Our adversaries are very pleased to mention first and foremost the case of Manciu, the Prefect of Police of Yassy, who was shot in a public confrontation with Corneliu Codreanu. All that happened then was duly recorded; and the roots of that occurrence is found in Codreanu's book *For the Legionaries.* This Prefect of Police was sent to Yassy with the task of "energetically" wiping out the nationalist movement of Moldavia's capital. Manciu set out zealously to fulfill his task: he embarked upon a course of beatings, unjustified arrests, and tortures that horrified the population. Corneliu Codreanu himself was being aggressed against and was on the verge of falling a victim to this prefect's misdeeds. He fired his shot in self-defense when the bloodthirsty Manciu and his henchmen fell upon him during a public trial before a jury, to "teach him not to stir up the students again."

Our adversaries are equally happy to pull out of their bag of accusations the case of Duca. But all they want to remember here is that Duca fell in the railway station at Sinaia, shot by three legionaries. They choose to forget what Duca was guilty of, all his inhumanity, the crimes and murders he committed: how he unconstitutionally and illegally dissolved the *Iron Guard* on December 10, 1933, how he arrested 10,000 legionaries without cause and without a warrant to ensure his electoral success, how he dismantled the judiciary system and how he murdered the young people for no other cause but the fact that they were involved in electoral campaigns and were pasting posters on the walls in the street. That career of murders is not mentioned and Duca's lawlessness is ignored. All that is quoted is the occurrence in the railway station at Sinaia, when three young legionaries, exasperated by the continual murderous lawlessness of Duca, took the law in their own hands.

Another alleged act of legionary terrorism is the case of Stelescu. Again, the last event in the chain is mentioned without explaining why Stelescu was killed by his comrades. This young man who with only 25 years was nominated as a candidate and was elected as a representative of the Legionary Movement allied himself with the movement's enemies and conspired to murder his benefactor, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. First he though of using poison, but then he resorted to guns. It is convenient to ignore these antecedents. They are never mentioned in the accusations brought against us. Stelescu was one of the most base and vile traitors, who had promised the shady powers who ruled the royal palace to assassinate Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

Along the same line of accusations of "crimes" committed by the movement, great emphasis is placed on the killing of "that great statesman" Armand Călinescu by a group of legionaries on the night of September 21, 1939. However, in this accusation too, truth has been curtailed, for it is not

mentioned what crimes were committed by Armand Călinescu, who organized the assassination of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, of the Nicadors and of the Decemvirs, on the night of November 29, 1938, whom he murdered by well-known ritualistic strangulation. To murder innocent people by strangulation is not considered a crime by our adversaries; they see that as a normal action justified by "state reasons." Călinescu's victims were nobody but a group of the best representatives of their generation. And it is thus that history is being perverted.

And then the tragical end of those who were killed at Jilava is being deplored with heart-rending tears. Sixty-four "dignitaries of the Romanian state" lost their lives in the avenging of the murders of the prison of Jilava, when the body of Codreanu was disinterred in the night of November 26, 1940. Those sixty-four are hypocritically being mourned, but no tear is shed for the victims of those sixty-four. No mention is made of those whom they had murdered at Jilava, and of the hundreds of young people they had killed all over the country. Their killings are forgiven them; they are viewed with indulgence, for all they did was "defend the state order", while those who fell shot by the police and by the gendarmerie were those who were "disturbing" the Romanian society.

Thus, state terrorism is declared to be a legal and legitimate action, if it is aimed at destroying the legionaries, even if all laws are broken, while the victims of those bloodthirsty reprisals are declared to be the most frightful terrorists, who must be condemned for all future generations, when they try to achieve justice, after having failed to obtain justice from the installed government.

And then, the case of Iorga and Madgearu. It is alleged that this is a case that surpasses all other crime perpetrated by the legionaries, and covers them with shame for all times to come. The great scientist Nicolae Iorga, the great historian

of worldwide fame, the great teacher of so many generations of students, was most barbarously killed by a group of legionaries. This is, obviously, the limit of savagery, of unleashed beastliness in those young people brainwashed to do nothing but kill.

And here again, it is supremely convenient to forget, to ignore what Iorga did before that. All that is remembered is the fame of the great scholar and his political sins are overlooked.

As soon as Carol II set up his dictatorship, Professor Iorga became an implacable enemy of Corneliu Codreanu, whom he attacked daily in his periodical *The Romanian Nation* in the most base way. Unable to disregard so much infamy, in the end Corneliu Codreanu responded with his celebrated letter in which he revealed Iorga's infamous and unjust actions. "From now on, until my last day, I will know you for what you are," Codreanu wrote, that is, for a man devoid of honor and of character.

In retaliation for that letter, Nicolae Iorga lent his good services to the shady palace powers and demanded that Codreanu be tried for insulting a high government official (Iorga was Royal Counsellor). That was the first step in the conspiracy which succeeded in the detention of Codreanu, his being sentenced to ten years in prison, and his being immediately assassinated in the night of November 29, 1938.

Nicolae Iorga was by no means innocent. He, and Armand Călinescu, and Elena Lupescu, were the main forces who caused the staged trial and then the assassination of Corneliu Codreanu.

It is convenient to ignore those antecedents. All the legion's enemies recall is the shooting of Iorga, and never what Iorga did before that, or the odious smear campaign he waged protected under the protection of state censorship.

In his interview of 1960 published with the title *The Case of Iorga and Madgearu*, Horia Sima related precisely and in detail his efforts to save Iorga's life. Iorga was not on the list of people to be arrested or detained. He was perfectly free until they started disinterring the victims of Jilava. It was then that a group of young legionaries who worked at the National Institute of Cooperatives decided to avenge Codreanu, without asking for directives, and to kill the person who in their opinion was a leader in the conspiracy. Realizing the consequences of that unfortunate action, Horia Sima ran all night along the Prahova Valley trying to reach Iorga in time and save his life, not because Iorga was innocent, but because he thought of the immense prejudice his killing would bring to the Legionary Movement. He did not succeed. Boeru and his team had done the deed before Sima could intervene. The next day it was too late. Iorga had been found dead in the village of Strejnic, killed by Boeru and his team. It was at the same time that Virgil Madgearu, a less guilty person who, however, also took part in the palace conspiracy, was killed.

Iorga's death was very unfortunate for the Legionary Movement for it offered General Antonescu and his team, and our adversaries, a welcome argument and propaganda item at the very time when relationships within the government were extremely strained, after the bodies of the victims of Jilava were disinterred. For further details in this unfortunate affair, we encourage the reader to consult Horia Sima's booklet *The Case of Iorga and Madgearu.*

IV. THE REBELLION OF JANUARY 1941 AND THE JEWS

The so-called rebellion of the legionaries that took place in January 1941 in Bucharest and in other cities is an event extensively cultivated and intensively disseminated by the Jewish circles in Israel and in America.

First and foremost, the character and the proper appellation of those disturbances must be determined, before drawing proper conclusions.

There was no rebellion of the legionaries between the 21st and the 23rd of January 1941; all that took place then was the coup d'état of General Antonescu. In this instance, as in other similar instances, those who accuse us refuse to acknowledge the chain of events that led to the resistance of the legionaries, and capitalize exclusively on the consequences of that coup d'état.

Before the so-called rebellion of the legionaries took place, the then leader of the Romanian state broke the basic law of that country that prevailed at that time under the formula of the National-Legionary State; he demoted General Petrovicescu, the then Minister of the Interior, and ordered the military occupation with troops of all government and administrative offices, such as county offices, police chief's offices, and mayor's offices, that were then legally occupied and manned by legionaries. Those whom he drove away from their office at gunpoint were not replaced with other officials nominated by decrees published in the *Official Records*; what occurred was a military occupation throughout the country of civilian offices with the aim of doing away with the officials and of taking away their offices by military personnel and brigades. That action is called in any language in the world and in any historical writing by the name of a *coup d'état.*

True, in some parts of the country groups of legionaries reacted to those abusive, unconstitutional and illegal acts, and, supported by the masses of the people, they resisted the attacks of the military and their attempts to penetrate into public buildings. Those legionaries did nothing else but protect the public offices that had been entrusted to them by legal decrees against intruders whose only justification was their ability to coerce people. It was not the legionaries who were the "rebels," as they were libelled later; the author of the disturbance was General Antonescu who, breaking the basic constitutional law, ordered the military to replace the legal occupants of public offices. Antonescu was the "rebel"; those libelled as rebels were as a matter of fact the defenders of law and order in the country.

Between the 21st and the 23rd of January 1941, the Jewish population of the capital also suffered from terrorist acts: shops were broken into, houses were set on fire, there were even lives lost. It is not surprising that the Jewish circles accused the legionaries of those murders, for if the rebellion was legionary, as the Jews and other adversaries of the legionaries claim, then the perpetrators of those crimes could be no other but the legionaries.

Since the rebellion was not legionary, this claim must be examined in every detail to reestablish the truth.

Let us first ascertain the number of victims who were Jews and fell in those days. Some books, even some written by reputed authors, mention 6,000 to 7,000 Jews killed during that so-called rebellion. That figure is not only not true, it is also preposterous. In fact, between the 21st and the 23rd of January 1941 only between 120 and 140 Jews lost their lives, as it is clearly stated even in the official documents of the Jewish community.

Then, it must be clarified who should be accounted responsible for those murders. There never was an order issued

from the leaders of the legionaries or from any legionary structure of authority that should have prompted the members of the Legionary Movement or the masses of the people to kill Jews. There cannot be found any proof that the Legionary Movement actually and directly participated in those reprisals against the Jewish population. And that is so for a very simple reason. The legionaries were at that moment tied up in the man-to-man fight in the public buildings, resisting Antonescu's military takeover. Consequently one must surmise that the Jews who fell in those days were the victims of marauders of the social structure who could not be controlled because of the turn of events, as it always happens during revolutions or at times of anarchy when the law-enforcing structures are prevented from functioning.

A third issue that needs clarifying regards the Jews themselves. Their leaders cannot be absolved of all responsibility during those tragic events. It is a well-known fact that the Jewish Community of Romania, through its chief, Filderman, and other representatives, actively goaded Antonescu on and participated in the organizing of the *coup d'état* against the national-legionary state. The Jews are not adverse to state that fact; in their own account published in 1946, at the close of World War II, under the title ***The Black Book***, they appear proud of their ability to work behind the scenes at the Presidency, with the aim of demolishing the national-legionary state.

It is logical to ask, in the light of those facts: if the Jews, alongside of the British and American Secret Service agents, were accessories in Antonescu's *coup d'état*, one imagines that they would have foreseen some reactions among the population that could endanger the security of their co-nationals. It follows that the leaders of the Jewish Community took upon themselves the consequences of the social unrest that might have resulted -- as they state themselves in the above-mentioned ***Black Book***. Consequently, they

cannot be absolved of the responsibility for the loss of those human lives, since they are partners of those who stirred up the so-called rebellion.

V. THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRACY

A pamphlet by Horia Sima entitled ***The Legionary Movement and Democracy*** was published around 1955. We summarize here the gist of that pamphlet, endeavoring to prove that it was the legionaries who were, in fact, the defenders of democracy, and not the established political parties. The established political aristocracy has always practiced political dictatorship of the most intolerable type, especially aiming at preventing the Legionary Movement from exerting its influence by legal means.

The Legionary Movement is not uncomfortable in the presence of other political parties and does not wish to suppress them. The Legionary Movement has no objection to waging the political battle in broad daylight, and having the victory given by means of general ballot. The Legionary Movement is not aiming at replacing the will of the people by its own, or at governing without control exerted by the masses of the people. It is for the entire nation to decide which political group should have the task of governing the country.

In proof of which we quote from Corneliu Codreanu's statement made in the very first days of the Legionary Movement's public existence:

"We will abide by this country's laws, without creating incidents, avoiding all clashes, not responding to provocation. We will be invincibly strong in our struggle, but always within the limits of the law."

The response of the political parties that governed the country until the dictatorship of Carol II to that chivalrous attitude of the legionaries consisted of a deluge of abuse and illegal acts. This is how Codreanu, the leader of the legionaries, describes that epoch:

"We have most strictly observed law and order. Purposely, so as to be above reproach. Yet that will be of no avail. The government battle cry will be: 'We cannot destroy you for breaking the law, but that does not matter. We will break the law and destroy you.'"

The Legion's entire history in the so-called "democratic" epochs of government in Romania evolved in permanent conflict with the state establishment. And that not because we wanted or we caused that conflict but because the historical political parties misused their position and their influence in the state apparatus in order to outlaw us. Our movement has constantly been placed in a dilemma between resisting the government terrorism organized by the historical political parties and surrendering.

In his book ***For the Legionaries***, our leader, Codreanu, describes in detail a few instances of state terrorism organized by the historical political parties, which he knew from first-hand experience.

Briefly, the Legionary Movement was arbitrarily dissolved three times in three consecutive years:

- In 1931, by a National-Peasant Party government, where the Minister of the Interior was Ion Mihalache;
- In 1932, by the Iorga-Argetoianu government;
- In 1933, by the Duca government.

Still in Codreanu's lifetime, a paradoxical situation arose. Between 1935 and 1937, Corneliu Codreanu was the champion of democracy. He was the only politician who upheld the Constitution and opposed all attempts to replace it with the king's dictatorship. Whenever the adversaries of the Legionary Movement circulated the old accusations (that is planned a *coup d'état*, or to overturn public order), Corneliu Codreanu reiterated his movement's position within the boundaries of the law:

"The Legionary Movement will never seek to succeed by a plot or a *coup d'état*."

"We will not stage a *coup d'état*. The very essence of our ideology makes us adverse to that kind of thing (a *coup d'état*), which is an act of brute force, of an external nature, whereas we expect to overcome by developments in the nation's soul, by a process of human improvement."

And so we come to the well-known letter to Vaida Voevod, written after Carol II suppressed the country's Constitution, dissolved all political parties, and, falsifying the outcomes of a plebiscite, superimposed a new Constitution which granted the king absolute power.

That letter is available for perusal by all interested parties, as it had been published in the *Letters from the Captain's Desk*. We give below a few typical passages which reveal Corneliu Codreanu's political stand, loyal to the country's basic laws:

"Dear Sir:

"No nation is condemned to live its entire life bound by the same forms. This country's Constitution foresees any possible change, on one condition: that the legal norms outlined by the country's basic law be respected. However, the latest innovation raises quite a few questions.

"First, the contempt for the Romanian people. What gives character to new state formations the world over is not the form taken by the state as much as the nation's involvement in the creation of those forms. It is not so much the state mechanisms that count in these changes, as it is the will of the nation -- an enhanced state of consciousness, an enthusiasm that is reached by a nation called upon to decide its own fate.

"As a Romanian, I am offended and I raise a few questions:

"What do you think of our nation when you put it down in this manner? How do you see this great touchstone, this competition among the world's nations where it is not the external form and aspect of the state that counts but the nation's self-awareness and dignity?

"By the Act of February 10-11, you barred the Romanians from political participation. You gave us a new régime and imposed upon us a new Constitution hastily put together overnight, thereby labelling the entire nation as 'incompetent and stupid.'

"I ask again: did you believe us indeed to be no better than a flock of sheep?

"In all changes of state forms, by the side of the idea of formal innovation, emerges the idea of a triumphant nation, not that of one enslaved under a yoke put upon it; a nation that wants to participate in the shaping of its own future, if it is to have a future, if it is to prevail as a nation entitled to respect among the other nations all over the world."

During the national-legionary régime, Horia Sima proposed to Antonescu three times the holding of free elections with the participation of all political parties. But the historical parties advised Antonescu to reject free elections, because they feared that the people would vote for the legionaries. After the *coup d'état* of January 21, 1941, all historical political parties advised him not to hold elections but to continue his dictatorship with their support.

That is the true history of the Legionary Movement with respect to the concept of democracy. While the historical political parties allied themselves with both dictatorships, that of Carol II and that of Antonescu, in order to prevent the Legionary Movement from having access to power by legal means, we were the only ones who represented and defended the will of the nation.

VI. AN IDEOLOGIC CAMPAIGN OF DIVERSION

To define their opposition to the preceding régime, after the glorious victory of the national revolution of December 1989, the leaders who took over the reigns of government embarked upon an intensive ideological campaign meant to prove how far removed Ceauşescu's régime was from communism. Though they have been communists themselves, and have long been Ceauşescu's partners in his bloodthirsty tyranny, today's Romanian leaders aimed at convincing public opinion by means of the newsmedia they control that Ceauşescu was similar to Hitler rather, and should be classed in the category of nazi and fascists rather. To bolster up those false allegations, these leaders have not forgotten to involve the Legionary Movement, and state peremptorily that "communism and the Legionary Movement are one and the same thing", and that should the legionaries ever come into power, their régime would be like Ceauşescu's. Thus we have one more libel attached to us.

Let us, however, restore the truth. Ceauşescu never emulated Hitler and never was a nazi or a fascist; he was a product of the communism that prevailed in Russia. He learned governing in Russia in Stalin's days, after which, well trained in Moscow and Leningrad, he was sent down to apply his inquisitorial skills in Romania. He evolved under Gheorghiu-Dej's wing, who appreciated his zest in liquidating

the unfriendly classes, and his actions earned him succession rights. At Gheorghiu-Dej's death he naturally inherited the party leadership owing both to his proven talents in oppressing the nation and to the permanent support he was granted by his masters in the Kremlin.

Ceaușescu was Romania's Stalin. There would have been no bolshevism in Russia without a Marx and a Lenin; and there would have been no Stalin at the head of the Soviet Union without them; and it is Stalin who is the political and ideological father of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceaușescu.

This is then the real family tree of Ceaușescu the dictator, and his many crimes in Romania are the outcome of the destructive communist ideology. It is ridiculous to try to misrepresent Ceaușescu as some sort of Romanian Hitler or Mussolini. He was nothing but the very embodiment of the most ferocious type of communism, of the type of communism that Stalin installed and pushed to its limits. It was Stalin whom Ceaușescu strove to emulate, and after Stalin's death, it was Mao-Tse-Tung. Those facts are well known to historians and we are surprised to find that there still are journalists, even among those who have sworn allegiance to today's government, who would lend their names to those fantastic inventions.

As for the equation of communism to the Legionary Movement that some journalists allege, we can only marvel at its rare dishonesty. Could it be possible that those journalists do not know that both in Gheorghiu-Dej's time and in the time of Ceaușescu, the political prisons were full of legionaries? And that it was the legionaries who were most relentlessly persecuted and exterminated?

The truth is that it was exactly the legionaries who bore the burden of the struggle against communism both under Gheorghiu-Dej and under Ceaușescu, while today's leaders, those alleged adversaries of the two dictators, were rising

stars under Ceauşescu. Their accusations are not only absurd and contrary to nature; they border on the insane and prove the continuity of Ceauşescu's methods.

The members of the Legionary Movement suffered extremely under Ceauşescu, not only physically, as we died by the thousands in prisons, but also morally through the totally unscrupulous and limitless libel campaign that was waged against us with utmost vehemence.

As we read those fantastic allegations we are reminded of the plethora of books and periodicals that were published before December 1989, whose appearance was organized from a central, anonymous location, whose aim was to harm our movement morally, and whose effect was to prevent the younger generation from knowing the truth.

VII. DEFENDING THE ROMANIAN STATE

We have stated in our publications that the main duty of the current rulers is to prevent the state's deterioration and to ensure its political, juridical and territorial continuity. No revolution can be indefinitely prolonged without endangering the state's structure. Should the protests and violent actions continue regardless of the demand of internal stability, then the country embarks upon a phase of never-ending turmoil that will offer its neighbors the opportunity of occupying its territory and cutting off parts of it.

Unfortunately, it was understood that it is an elementary prerequisite of national policy to turn the revolution into a new embodiment of Romanian life. A transition must be effected from a revolutionary convulsion to a new established state form. The responsibility for doing that lies equally with the government and with the opposition. Both the official opposition, namely the elected representatives,

and the opposition of the revolutionary younger generations, must understand that transforming a state is not one day's work. Old structures cannot be replaced in a moment, if for no other reason, then because there is not sufficient available personnel to replace them.

On the other hand, the government which apparently obtained an electoral majority must not try to reinstate the old régime behind a smoke screen of democracy. It will not do to raise aloft the flag of democracy with one hand while impeding the normal course of public life with the other. The current government must observe its obligations to the nation and must offer equal opportunities to all political parties. Any other attitude will convince the people that the current rulers wish to perpetuate communism under a new name, keeping on the old nomenklatura and using it as a tool to terrorize the opposition.

Those involved in this transitional process from a dictatorship to democracy must acknowledge their duties and must prevent political struggle to degenerate into permanent confrontation dictated by the laws of violence.

VIII. THE NATIONAL MINORITIES

It must be recognized that in the nation's effort to rid itself of the bloodthirsty and demented tyrant Ceaușescu alongside of the Romanian young people, who were the majority, there participated also fighters from the national minorities: Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, and even members of the ethnic group that are calling themselves "romi" now (the gypsies).

We see this fraternizing of Romanians and national minorities under the banner of democratic freedom as a sound

beginning for the achieving of a common future life. This starting point must not be wasted in fruitless dissensions. It must not be allowed to revert to old enmities; the blood spilled together in the battle for freedom must become the life-giving force of national harmony.

And two tasks are outlined here: the majority of the population, that is, the Romanians, must generously grant the minorities all rights that are compatible with the existence of the Romanian State, ensuring especially that they should enjoy freedom of religion, schools in their mother tongue, and the flourishing of their own culture. At the same time however, the national minorities must equally generously respect the Romanian State's territorial integrity within the current borders. The Romanian State's structure must not be diminished, altered, or enfeebled, invoking blood ties with natives of other countries.

Observation of these premises will lead to harmonious coexistence of all nationalities inhabiting one territory, and will be a means of bringing together and integrating all national states in a United Europe tomorrow.

IX. THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL PARTIES

Uniting their efforts with those of the current rulers of Romania, and also endeavoring to please certain international circles, the historical political parties joined the attack on the Legionary Movement repeating the same accusations and infamous allegations. Two gentlemen distinguished themselves through the shamelessness of their attacks, both candidates to the office of President of State: Mr. Câmpeanu and Mr. Raţiu.

However, if we were to judge the effectiveness of these political leaders among exiled Romanians, we cannot help noticing that it amounted to nothing or almost nothing as regards the national cause. No result was observed in Romania from their policy or propaganda abroad. Until the great upheaval of December 1989, Ceaușescu had nothing to fear on the part of these improvised leaders of exiled Romanians. Romania was freed by the thousands of young men and women who fought in the streets, and not by the fruitless interventions of these political leaders, who had no special influence upon the struggle carried on abroad by our nation. They appeared after the fact endeavoring to profit by the changes that took place in Romania, having risked nothing in advance.

Moreover, the followers of the historical political parties have another sin to confess. They are followers of those political parties that implemented the act of August 23, 1944, whose outcome was the demolition of the eastern front and the bolshevist hordes invading Romania. It is owing to those political parties that our nation was doomed to forty years of slavery. They chose to ignore international realities and the warnings of Corneliu Codreanu, and became unwittingly the accomplices of the setting up of the communist dictatorship in Romania. They are, in fact, the political godfathers of Gheorghiu-Dej and of Ceaușescu.

Messrs. Câmpeanu and Rațiu have no moral standing to explain democracy to us, that is to those who suffered in communist prisons by the thousands, for they belong to those who conspired with the most ferocious totalitarian dictators on earth.

X. THE RECOVERY OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The first duty of the new rulers and of those who will come after them is the recovery of the national economy. That task cannot be postponed any longer. The strategies for the reorganization of production on a national scale must be drawn up, so that the old régime's centralized economy can be discarded in favor of a social economy based on competition and demand.

We note and applaud as a step in the right direction the fact that some land was restored to the peasantry. That was an act of social justice. However, in order to convince the peasants to work again wholeheartedly on their ancestral land, they must be given back all that was taken from them and they must receive guarantees that they will not be coerced into collective farms again.

A plethora of bankrupt industrial enterprises will have to be done away with, and a lot of other enterprises will have to be overhauled to make them productive.

The most valuable asset in the transition from the economy based on collective exploitation to a free economy based on private initiative is man. A new generation of knowledgeable economists, engineers, managers and directors must be raised. They receive appropriate training, and so must all workers, to learn how to enjoy giving their best efforts at work.

A "new man" is needed in the economy, as he is needed in other areas, in education, in literature and the arts, in politics. These "new people" must form a national élite which must take the leadership in all sections of Romanian society.

Again do we find here Corneliu Codreanu's statement that present-day Romania needs in the first place people with a

new frame of mind, people capable of wholeheartedly giving their best for the welfare of all.

We know that Ceauşescu, too, used the slogan of the "new man." However, Ceauşescu's intention was completely different: for him the "new man" was a sort of ape-like creature, a humanoid akin to the animals, who has given up thinking and crawls humbly before the communist party and before its leaders who control the State. Codreanu's "new man" is a synthesis of all national, Christian and human virtues.

In the process of the recovery of the national economy an important part must be played by the German and Jewish national minorities.

We urge our Transylvanian Saxon and Suevian citizens to continue to live in their fatherland and to use their ties with the country of their ancestors, unified Germany, to attract the much-needed capital and technology to Romania. They, too, should prove their patriotism in these hard times that have befallen our nation after 40 years of oppression. The part our German citizens can play is very great and our nation will be grateful.

Similarly, the Jewish minority can play an important part in Romania's economic restructuring, if it understands its role. Through their ties with the United States and other Western countries, they can bring a contribution to Romania's economic recovery by attracting sound capital, based on just pay both for the loan of capital and for work performed. This is the time when the Jews can show that they are not only good Jews but also good Romanians. They must progress from their endless complaints about the persecutions they suffered in Romania -- where they in fact suffered less than in all other countries of Europe -- to a loyal and correct attitude toward Romania, thus atoning for the evil they did to our nation in the times of Ana Pauker and

Gheorghiu-Dej, when some of them were the collaborators of the Stalinist oppressors. The Jews of Romania must take as their models the great figures of contemporary Judaism in Romania, such as Rabbi Safran, friar Nicolae Steinhardt, and Pastor Richard Wurmbrand, and not the inimical urges of Rabbi Rosen who played a maleficent part in Ceaușescu's lifetime and used his influence abroad to prolong the slavery of the Romanian people.

XI. A NEW CONSTITUTION

On top of its usual functions, the current Parliament has taken upon itself the task of giving the country a new Constitution. Thus it has set itself up as a Constituting Assembly. After the long period of Ceaușescu's dictatorship, the current representatives should assume the task of writing a new basic law for the country.

We believe however that before writing and implementing the New Constitution, the entire nation should be asked to decide what form of government it desires to have: a republic or a monarchy. Then, depending on the way the nation has answered that question, the task of drawing up the New Constitution can be initiated. A monarchic constitution will be different from a republican one.

It is thus absolutely necessary that the current government should call the nation to a plebiscite to decide what form of government is favored by the people, whether a republic or a monarchy. Before the actual drawing up of the New Constitution can begin, the entire country must be called upon to decide upon the form of government by individual, secret and mandatory ballot.

Should the people decide that the monarchy is to be restored, then the new Constitution must be modelled after the western monarchies, whose basic principle is: "The King rules but does not govern." The King does not interfere with the nation's political life and acts only as an arbiter and as a representative of the State. The Constitution of 1923 cannot be the stepping stone for the new basic law. Its main shortcoming is the fact that it does not observe the principle that "all power has its source in the nation." The King used to have full power that placed him above the government and parliament. He not only ruled; he also governed. The 1923 Constitution has interfered with the country's political works in the interwar period; it permitted Carol II to set up his 1938 dictatorship with the entire host of calamities he brought upon the country; it was still based on that constitution that the event of August 23, 1944 took place. That is why a Romanian monarchic constitution must take as a model the western monarchies and cannot revert to the 1923 Constitution which was an impediment in the flourishing of a democratic life in Romania by the supreme power it conferred upon the monarch.

XII. THE LIBERATION OF THE CHURCH

Another beneficent outcome of the Great National Revolution of December 1989 was the liberation of the Church from the manacles of an atheistic régime.

The Greek Catholic Church regained the freedom to exist as a religion and the Orthodox Church escaped from the slavery of the communist party.

Those two great spiritual and religious gains were again the gift of the young people who on the 22nd of December

overthrew Ceauşescu's bloodthirsty régime, when many thousands gave up their lives to achieve that. The Church and the fatherland owe gratitude to the young men and women who fought and died in the street at that time.

A historical detail worth mentioning here about the Greek Catholic Church is that the martyrdom it endured since 1948 was matched with the continued martyrdom of the thousands of young people, both Orthodox and Greek Catholics, who died in brotherly union fighting for the same ideals. In all Eastern European countries, the Christian Churches of all denominations could emerge from captivity owing to internal political negotiations or to external influences. It is only in Romania that the Church of our ancestors of both denominations was liberated from the persecutions of the enemies of Christ through a revolutionary action that was unique in the history of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe.

As for the Orthodox Church, in order to assess objectively its actions under communist dominion, its forms that were established thousands of years ago must be judged apart from the heads of the Church who were in office during that dark age. The Church's higher officials, with few exceptions, behaved deplorably, capitulating before the government, while the masses of the people, the workers and the peasants, continued going to church and praying to God. Priests who were truly religious guided the people during the years of persecutions and helped them support the misery and starvation. The people and the lower clergy suffered and were martyred alongside of their Greek Catholic brothers. They saved the good name of the Orthodox Church and atoned before God for its sins.

The young people who died fighting in the streets brought a new offering which compensated for the unworthiness of some heads of the Church. We must venerate the memory of great men such as Bishop Nicolae Popovici or the Metrop-

olitan Bishop Mihălcescu of Yassy, both of whom died a martyr's death.

XIII. A PARTY OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

The young people who were victorious in December 1989 are still fighting for their creed and their ideals, demanding a government purged of the old communist nomenklatura.

To achieve their goals as concerns public life, it is necessary that these young people, these brave intellectuals, students and workers, unite to form a party that should use legal means to gain access to the higher ranks of state, parliament and government, within the country's current democratic structure.

To realize their pure intentions, the young people must assert themselves politically within the new constitutional layout of their country.

The younger generation must address the masses of the people, the peasantry and the workers, to work together with them towards the recovery of our nation's unity. A powerful party can be framed in cooperation with the peasantry and the workers, which tomorrow could take a leadership rôle in governing the country and cleanse all areas of our national life.

XIV. FOREIGN POLICY

Today's leaders, and those who will take over after them, must pay great attention to two essential matters in foreign policy:

1) Romania's relations with the future United Europe. They must watch carefully the danger that the new European structure should not be organized in a manner unfavorable to our country from which other neighboring states should derive benefits.

2) Still within that future Europe, our government must pay special attention to the relations with Russia. After the Russian-Soviet Empire embarked on a career of profound changes, granting its component nations the right to self-determination, the matter that appears outstanding is the problem of Bessarabia. It may well be that in these new circumstances Russia should accept Bessarabia's reunion with the fatherland. Should that be the case, Romania can be only on the best of terms with her powerful eastern neighbor. After centuries of tension and invasions, it may well be that the Russians should no longer regard us with enmity and should on the contrary be ready to make friends with the people on the banks of the Danube.

XV. REVOLUTION AND CONSPIRACY

After the victory of the Great National Revolution of December 1989, whose outcome was the demolition of Ceauşescu's heinous and genocidal régime, there were certain attempts and tendencies to interpret that glorious national event differently. Namely, both the current rulers and some instigators from abroad are trying to misrepresent the

sacrifice of the thousands who died for the nation as the outcome of certain secret arrangements, plans, organizations, coups d'état, prepared months in advance of Ceaușescu's demise. Iliescu, Roman, Voican, Brucan, and others, would have in this light not only profited from the revolution but would have been its hidden promoters, the brains who together with the army and even with the secret police would have organized the demolition of the previous terrorist régime.

That is nothing but fiction created after the fact, meant to explain to the public of Romania and abroad how those leaders appeared at the helm of the State. True, today's leaders, Iliescu, Roman, Voican, Brucan, and others, made certain opposing statements during Ceaușescu's rule, but their statements were all very minor and had no palpable results. If all that was revolutionary had consisted of their protests and statements, Romania would still groan under Ceaușescu's iron heel. Those persons never assumed a revolutionary responsibility, never confronted the tyrant manfully; all they did was to emerge on the public scene in the confused days of the December revolution when the masses of the people poured out in the streets of Bucharest and other major Romanian cities. Ceaușescu's dictatorship was virtually defeated by the thousands who died in Timișoara, in Bucharest, and in other Romanian cities, when Iliescu and his buddies showed up at the headquarters of the communist party.

True, it cannot be denied that it was by their decision to arrest Ceaușescu and hand him over to an exceptional tribunal who tried him and sentenced him to death that the Iliescu team speeded up events considerably and created confusion within the secret police forces.

But the overthrowing of the tyrant and the collapse of his heinous rule is the work of the masses of the people. It was

a national revolution in which the entire nation took part, with the college students fighting in the first ranks.

XVI. THE NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL AND ROMANIA'S GOVERNMENT

Romania's current government either ignores or rejects the conclusion reached by the Western countries with regard to the Legionary Movement at the end of World War II. Those countries considered the Legionary Movement using a different standpoint than the one taken in obvious ill faith against us by Romania's current rulers who claim that they are governing the country according to the principles of democracy.

Thus, in the fall of 1945 a legionary delegation from Germany appeared before Eisenhower's diplomatic and political counselor Robert Murphy, in Frankfurt am Main, submitting a memorandum that explained our relations with the German Reich. Robert Murphy was moved by the sufferings endured by the legionaries in concentration camps at the time when Europe was dominated by the Axis Powers, and pleaded on our behalf before General Eisenhower, who was supreme commander of the allied armed forces in Germany. As a result the latter issued an order that exonerated the Legionary Movement and its members were not to be accounted as "collaborationists," and were not be hunted down and handed over. From that moment on the legionaries were completely free in Germany to manifest themselves and to organize.

At the beginning of 1946, a zealous chief of police in the American army arrested in Austria and incarcerated in the camp at Glasenbach the following members of the [Romanian

exiled] Government of Vienna who had taken refuge at Bad Gastein:
Minister Vasile Iasinschi;
Minister of the Army General Platon Chirnoagă;
General Secretary of the Ministry of the Army Commander Bailla;
Romania's General Consul in Vienna and Councillor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mihail Fotin Enescu;
Mrs. Maria Bucur, employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna;
Spiridon Neaţă, a legionary commander and the representative in Salzburg of the Legionary Movement.

Following the inquiry conducted by United States officials who examined among others the memoranda submitted by General Platon Chirnoagă and Consul Mihail Fotin Enescu, the Supreme Commander of the United States Army in Austria, General Mark Clark, ordered that all Romanians imprisoned in the Glasenbach camp be set free, since he found none of them guilty of anything. After one year of captivity, the members of the Vienna government found their freedom and were exonerated by the American officials.

Something similar took place at Innsbruck in Austria in the winter of 1946. A group of legionaries had found refuge in that city in the local Red Cross building. Acting upon some informers' reports, officers of the French occupation army arrested the legionaries accusing them of having been collaborationists who must be handed over to the government that was in power at that time in their own country. Following an investigation and the examination of the memoranda submitted by Major Maftei and the young legionaries they had arrested, the French authorities ordered that they be set free after one year of detention.

In the zone occupied by British troops, the military authorities treated the legionaries with special attention from the very beginning and did not direct any reprisals against them.

During the Nuremberg trial the members of the Legionary Movement were not only exonerated from any accusation that they could have perpetrated any war crime or any crime against mankind; what is more, the general prosecutor revealed that the Legionary Movement had been a victim persecuted by the Third Reich and showed how unjustly and how inhumanly the Berlin rulers treated those who had been their friends, and whom they imprisoned in concentration camps.

The legionary refugees were received with goodwill by the French government as early as the fall of 1945, when they easily obtained the right to immigrate and permission to work.

At the time of the cold war between the western powers and Stalin, after the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, the Legionary Movement cooperated with the French and British officials in their fight against the communist government of Romania.

It is at that time, i.e. in the interval between 1950 and 1953, that the groups of Romanian legionaries were send from abroad into Romania under the leadership of Tănase, Golea, and Samoilă, whose tragic end shocked the entire nation. It must be mentioned here that those groups entered Romania with the agreement, and following the recommendation made to the Allied Powers, of the then President of the Romanian National Council, General Rădescu.

Comparing this just and loyal treatment we received at the hands of the governments of the Western Powers, with the treatment we receive from the current Romanian government, we are surprised to see this government follow in the footsteps of the previous communist rule of Ceaușescu's régime in its treatment of the legionaries, instead of repairing

the injustice done them by the previous régime and granting them the free use of civil rights.

XVII. A HOLY BROTHERHOOD OF THE ROMANIANS

Confronted with the economic disaster inherited from the previous régime that has Romania in its grips, all Romanians must unite in a holy brotherhood strong enough to overcome the hardships that beleaguer us today and to ensure for our people an honorable place among the world's nations.

We will be able to rebuild shortly all areas of national economy by dint of hard work, perseverance, discipline and order wherever we are called upon to participate in a collective effort.

Now is the time to show that we are capable not only of the well-known acts of bravery, heroism, and steadfast opposition to tyranny our nation is known for, but also of creative activities that should restore the internal balance of the nation.

Our people's glorious past must be our model and we must follow in the footsteps of our great ancestors, Decebal, Trajan, Stefan the Great, Michael the Brave, Alexandru Ion Cuza and many other grand figures in our historical past.

God has taken pity on our nation giving it the strength to remove by the bloodshed of December 22, 1989 a tyranny that seemed endless. Invoking the help of the Almighty, our much-tried people will recover its former glory and the right to a decent and free life, a life worth living, protecting and defending.

DESIDERATA OF THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

1) The Legionary Movement urges the current rulers of Romania to forsake the phase of political dilettantism and to acknowledge the responsibilities incumbent upon them.

Just claiming that they have obtained a majority at the polls is not enough. They must prove worthy of the trust the nation has put in their party.

2) When winter comes, the first thing the current administration must do is ensure a minimum of subsistence and of heating for the people in their homes.

The degradation of endless standing in line for food in front of empty shops and vending points must cease.

3) The attitude the current government must adopt towards the younger generation must be one of great solicitude; the concerns and aspirations of the young people must be viewed with understanding. It must not be forgotten that it is owing to the sacrifices of those young people that the current rulers govern today.

4) It is the position of the Legionary Movement that demonstrations that take place in the street will not bring about the results envisaged by those idealistic and generous young people. Renewed confrontations with the government forces may lead to civil war and may even imperil the internal stability of the Romanian state, which would entail fatal consequences for the state's very existence.

The Romanian younger generation must opt for the path of political self-assertion, must organize in a party, and must participate in the next elections.

5) The millions of members of the communist party cannot be ignored. They must be integrated in the national community. However, the current rulers must watch their loyalty to democracy, so that some of them should not try to restore

the old communist structures by means of which they would then terrorize the population as of old.

6) The ideal of the Romanian citizen cannot be to leave his home land because of poverty and hunger, to emigrate to the free world where he could have higher economic standards.

Having endured 40 years of slavery, he will not leave now when freedom dawns and the fatherland needs his hands and his know-how more than ever. The ideal of the Romanian citizen can only be to stay united with his ancestral land and to create there, as Moța said in his ***Last Will and Testament***, "a country luminous like the holy sun in the sky."

7) The Legionary Movement demands the abolition of the decree that forbids its participation in public life. Since the former members of the communist party have been granted the right to organize in a party and to stand for election, it cannot be justified that their foremost victims, the legionaries, should be excluded from state and public life. We believe that in a democratic régime the fighters against communism must be given general recognition and must not again be excluded from public life like social outcasts.

8) Also, we most vehemently and indignantly protest against the other decree of the current Romanian government which excludes the legionaries who suffered persecution and jailing from material reparation. All other categories of people who were jailed during Ceaușescu's communist rule receive certain monetary reparation for the years they spent in prison -- all but the legionaries.

We are not so much interested in the money proffered by the government -- for all the gold in the entire world cannot buy the sufferings endured by the legionaries in prison -- as we are grieved by this renewed political and moral blow dealt us again based on the old allegation that we were "fascists."

We do not know who among the current members of the Romanian government conceived this discrimination, but signing that decree indicates an attitude compatible with the

most base acts. It is exactly those who bore the brunt of the war against the terrorist dictatorship that are being excluded from benefitting from that public recompense.

9) The Legionary Movement appeals to the Romanian public opinion, to all social strata, to the political parties that still preserve a sense of patriotism and honor, to the courageous Romanian young men and women, to include in their programme the granting of civil rights to all of us who still survive.

If this act of justice is not done to the most persecuted of the Romanians, it is not possible to implement our country's recovery from the ruin that overwhelmed it. It is a matter of Divine Justice which precludes any human plans.

10) The Legionary Movement is ready to cooperate with all constructive forces in Romania and engages itself to assert itself only within the limits of democratic law and order.

Mihai Fotin Enescu

THE NUREMBERG TRIBUNAL VINDICATES THE IRON GUARD

1. Setting up a diplomatic platform for a discussion with the victorious powers began ahead of time, as early as 1944. At that time there was no doubt about the outcome of the war. The President of the National Government and the Foreign Minister gave me *carte blanche*.

2. To that end, it was necessary that the German government acknowledge a Representative Mission of the [exiled] National Romanian Government. That is what we obtained in March 1945, with the title of the Mission for General Consulate for the entire German Reich.

3. In mid-April 1945, in my capacity of a representative of the Romanian National Government, bearing the title of General Consul for the entire German Reich, and accompanied by the Consular Diplomatic Mission, consisting of Maria Bucur, Secretary, and Dinu Paul, Junior Attaché, we joined the State Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Corps in Bad-Gastein.

4. We wrote a letter asking Vasile Iasinschi, who was on his way to Romania accompanied by Corneliu Georgescu, to come to us in Bad-Gastein. Iasinschi came and, after we presented the facts to him, he accepted to remain in Bad-Gastein.

5. Also at Bad-Gastein there happened to arrive General Platon Chirnoagă, accompanied by Commander Eugen Băilă. They also adhered to our plan of discussion with the victorious forces.

6. I introduced Vasile Iasinschi at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in his capacity of provisional President of the Romanian National Government and provisional Foreign Minister, since those who held those titles were absent; then General Chirnoagă as Minister of War and Commander Băilă as Chief of Staff of the Minister of War.

sented: the Legionary Movement, the National Romanian Government, and the Romanian army. Those entities are not guilty of either "war crimes," or "genocide"; and they are not "fascist", or "nazi", or "collaborationist" either. It is well known that the work of instruction to a tribunal is secret and its acts and decisions are not made public. However, the acts of accusation and the sentences against other organizations of the International Tribunal of Nuremberg were published. Thus, alongside of the Fascist Party and the Nazi Party, alongside of the SA and of the SS, almost all nationalist movements of Europe were found guilty of "war crimes and crimes against humanity", of "fascism", "national socialism", and "collaborationism", including that of Leon Degrelle, the Croatian *ustasha*, the Hungarian *Cross and Arrows*, the Slovak *Hlinka-Garda*, and so on. It was only the Legionary Movement and the Bulgarian *Strajniks* (modelled after the Legionary Movement) of Professor Cantargiev that were exonerated from that type of sentencing.

As for the Jewish problem, the well-known Zionist Loewhenthal has made the same assertion that I made in my memorandum about the Iron Guard, at Eichmann's trial in 1961: "The anti-Semitism of the Iron Guard was not a racial attitude, as it was with the nazis, but it was from envy (!) of the economic status of the Jewish population of Romania."

Simion Ghinea

SCRUTINIZING HISTORY

The periodical ***Express Magazin*** of Bucharest published in its fourth issue of January 30, 1991, in its section **Scrutinizing History**, an article by Simion Ghinea entitled *January 21, 1941: A Legionary's Viewpoint*, which contains an eyewitness account.

Ghinea, who introduces himself as a legionary and former member of the secretariat of the Legionary Movement, begins his eyewitness account with a description of the staging of the alleged crimes perpetrated at the Bucharest slaughterhouse on January 21, 1941, after which he comments on those allegations made in ill faith. Ghinea's testimony and comments are meant to debunk one of the vilest accusations brought against the Legionary Movement, namely that during their so-called "rebellion" the legionaries murdered thousands of Jews.

Let us first reprint the editor's lines in which the section **Scrutinizing History** is being described to the reader:

SCRUTINIZING HISTORY

Ever since it emerged on the political scene, and especially since coming into power, the Romanian communist party controlled the way history is being written. All events in which it was involved or to which it was merely contemporary have been interpreted as it best suited that party's interests. The December Revolution has restored our history to us. We have now recovered the right to write our history as it really happened, observing only one rule: that of truthfulness.

The way in which the anniversary of the legionary rebellion and the anti-Jewish violence of January 1941 have

been inflated is even more deplorable under these circumstances; today's rulers have issued statements on those events and have affixed labels at a time when the historians are far from having reached a verdict.

So far all we have heard is one side of the case. Let us listen to the other side. That is why we print here the opinion of a man who was a member of the legionary leadership, and who consequently has inside knowledge of those events. We believe that this can give rise to discussions that will lead to the discovery of truth.

A STAGED EVENT: THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE MASSACRE

For the last 50 years, a strange trial takes place. I call it strange because, while the plaintiffs can say anything they fancy, the defendants have been silent, for they are gagged.

In 1947 Petre Pandrea, distinguished penal code specialist, published a technical book in which he cites cases of "collective psychosis and dementia" from the times of the French Revolution and from the time of the so-called "legionary rebellion" of January 1941.

Two years later we shared the same political prison cell at Ocnele Mari; I was there because I had been a legionary; he was there because he had been "an imbecilic collaborator" (to use his own words). I had read his book and I asked him what sources he used when he wrote about Jews having been cut up and hang up in meat hooks at the Bucharest slaughterhouse. He answered: "A book with the title *On the Brink of the Precipice*, of which much later I learned that it had been written by Eugen Cristescu, chief of the Secret Intelligence Service. I was to learn about its

author (Pandrea continued) shortly before I was thrown in political prison, from the head doctor of the slaughterhouse himself."

Petre Pandrea had met that doctor in the house of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, and he learned from him at that time that toward the end of November 1940, the doctor had received in his office the visit of a team of "mysterious" policemen, who asked his permission to photograph some "aspects" of the inside of the slaughterhouse. The doctor was puzzled: what was there to photograph, and for what purpose? However, two months later he was to unravel that mystery when he saw the photographs in that infamous collection of lies, stage-settings, fabrications, and calumnies, that were to be used in order to tarnish the reputation of the legionaries forever at home and abroad. The story that Pandrea told about the slaughterhouse made the round of that political prison. Ten years later I met Pandrea again, this time among the political prisoners in Aiud. And I asked him to repeat the story of the Bucharest slaughterhouse, this time in the hearing of Prince Ghica and Petre Ţuţea.

However, suppose the story told in *On the Brink of the Precipice* is not discredited only by Pandrea's report of the facts. Even so, a few questions remain unanswered:

1. Why was not even one single legionary involved in that alleged horrendous crime of the Bucharest slaughterhouse? Note: not one was involved! And I refer here to legionaries known as such, not to rabble from the outskirts of the town who in those troubled times in Bucharest could put on a legionary's green shirt and in that disguise could enter private homes and steal and even murder. Antonescu was merciless in his dealings with the legionaries, who had to pay with their lives for the dethronement of mad King Carol II, which paved the way for Antonescu's own accession to power on September 6, 1940. The numbers of the young people imprisoned, some of them for imaginary acts,

were in the thousands. Many were put to death. Yet, I repeat: **none of them was accused of what happened at the slaughterhouse**! Not one legionary was accused in 1941 of having perpetrated any crime against any Jew!

2. How could the legionaries find the time and what would have been their motive to start breaking into the stores and the houses of the Jews in those hectic days of the so-called rebellion, when their political future and even their lives were at stake?

3. Why was not that site of alleged martyrdom, the slaughterhouse, turned into a monument, a symbol of the holocaust, like Auschwitz, for instance, after August 23, 1944? Why have the allegations of a "pogrom in Bucharest" surfaced only now, fifty years later?

It is easy to answer the first question. The Jews were not a major threat for the legionaries, but the military *coup d'état* of January 21, 1941 was, whose author was General Antonescu supported by a foreign power, namely Hitler's Germany. For it was only with Hitler's support that Antonescu acted, which is not praiseworthy in him. It is the most base abandonment of the quality of a citizen of Romania to seize power or to stay in power with foreign aid (I learned that from Corneliu Codreanu).

I leave it to people who are more competent than I am to answer the other questions raised here. Their answer must contain the minimum results of a penal inquiry: the names of the victims and of the perpetrators, as it is well known that nothing prevented that a detailed penal inquiry be conducted at that very time. On the contrary, the authorities were eager to publish the complete lists of the "crimes" of the legionaries. Did they do that? If not, why not?

His Eminence the chief Rabbi of Romania is periodically concerned because of certain signs of anti-Semitism in

Romania. That would, indeed, have completed the dire picture. It is not enough, it seems, that we are criticized for not observing the rights of the national minorities.... To allay His Eminence's fears, let me remind him that there are not enough Jews in Romania now to justify the assertion of a **real Jewish problem**. I mean, His Eminence agitates himself needlessly, nay even unreasonably, on the ground of the Romanian anti-Semitism, since there is no reason for fears of that nature; unless, of course, there is a hidden reason we are not aware of.

Simion Ghinea
Former member of the Secretariat of
the Legionary Movement

IULIU MANIU
AND
THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT

How did Iuliu Maniu, chief of the National Peasants' Party and the unanimously acknowledged spokesman of democracy in Romania, see the Legionary Movement? Below are excerpts from an article by Nicolae Penescu, former secretary general of the National Peasants' Party and Minister of the Interior in the Sănătescu government of the fall of 1944, entitled *The Last Will and Testament of Iuliu Maniu.* That article was published in the periodical *România Democrată*, a publication sponsored by the National Peasants' Party, and directed by Jean Teodorescu-Făget, in New York, in the 31st issue in 1979.

"In my two writings *Romania: Checked Soaring* and *Romania: Where Storms Rage*, I described first the political life of that country between 1918 and 1940 (in the former) and what happened between 1940 and 1947 (in the latter), having been involved in the beginning as member of the Bureau of the National Peasants' Party, and then as a general secretary unanimously confirmed by the Central Committee. I broadcast the text of those writings in Romania in 1975, 76 and 77, under the auspices of Radio Free Europe.

"Thus the younger generation could become acquainted with what happened in those intervals in Romania, and obtain a completely different picture from the one presented by the communists. The policy of the National Peasants' Party and the politics of Iuliu Maniu are one and the same thing. That policy is today the political testament of the party's president.

"I cite here three chapters from that Last Will and Testament: the one about the Legionary Movement, the one about the younger generation, and the one about foreign policy.

"*The Legionary Movement.* With the exception of the steps taken against the legionaries by Ion Mihalache, the

Minister of the Interior of 1932, at the request of Carol II, the National Peasants' Party was never hostile to the legionaries.

"Corneliu Codreanu based his legion on three ideas: that of nationalism, that of the Christian religion, and that of a regenerated man. With the exception of the Jewish question, there were no differences between us and the legionaries. We met as young representatives in Parliament. The legion had made swift and important progress among the younger generation. True, there was a Jewish question, because the Jews had become the most numerous national minority after the Hungarians, and were first in economic power. All educated professions had been taken over by the Jews. I disagreed with Codreanu about the solution to that problem.

"In foreign policy, Codreanu's preferences were for the Rome-Berlin Axis, where he was driven by his abhorrence for communism and also because he believed that this country should be offered an alternative policy ... At our last but one encounter, Corneliu Codreanu, the founder of the Legionary Movement, told me that what made him gravitate toward Germany were not the national-socialist principles but his belief that in the world war that was to break out, Germany would be victorious and consequently there should be in Romania a movement capable of acting as a protective shield and achieve a compromise between the country's best interest and the demands of the eventual victor. However, it had become clear by that time that Germany would be defeated.

"The dictatorship, the censorship and the state of emergency that followed made it impossible to give utterance to those ideas of your leaders [of the Legionary Movement] and to publicize them, and consequently you had to bear the unpropitious atmosphere that enveloped you."

Penescu states further on:

"On August 23, 1944 the Sănătescu government took over, with General Aldea as Minister of the Interior. At the request of General Susaicov, the President of the Allied Control Commission, some of the former officials of Antonescu's régime, some generals, people accused of collaborationism with Germany, and the legionaries, were arrested.

"On December 4 the second Sănătescu government came into power, with me as a Minister of the Interior. Among the first things I did was to set free the legionaries. They could not be accused of war crimes. As a public gesture, with the occasion of a meeting at Pitești of the Executive Committee of the National Peasants' Party of Argeș County, which I chaired, I went to the local jail, where some legionaries were imprisoned, among whom Father Dumitrescu-Borșa who had been secretary general of the Legionary Movement; I gathered them all in the courtyard, I gave them an encouraging speech and I set them free. I ordered the setting free of all legionaries all over the country. After my return to Bucharest I received the visit of a Russian general in my office, who represented the Allied Control Commission and who demanded an explanation. I gave him a proper answer. Maniu approved my action in its entirety. Setting free the legionaries, preventing the taking over of the prefects' and of the mayors' offices by the freshly-arrived communists directed by the soviet agents, were cited by General Vinogradov who had in the meantime become the President of the Allied Control Commission as actions that went against the spirit of the Convention for Armistice and brought about the demise of the government. General Sănătescu took my side. His government was followed by that of General Rădescu, whose fate was the same, because the Russians wanted no other than Petru Groza, who was then asked by the king -- in spite of Maniu's opposing it -- to

form a new government on March 6, 1945, with the participation of a few renegades from the National Peasants' Party and from the Liberal Party, lead by Gheorghe Tătărăscu.

"After March 6, 1945 our party's circumstances became very precarious. We still existed legally but were prevented from acting. One day. Professor Manu called on me and also on Nicolae Pătrașcu, the Secretary General of the Legionary Movement who had returned from abroad incognito, to meet with him. I arrived accompanied by a friend, a relative of Mihalache, who however knew nothing of that meeting. I met with the two legionaries in a house in the St. Apostoli street. Pătrașcu suggested a cooperation between the Legionary Movement and the National Peasants' Party in the struggle against communism...

"I related that suggestion to Maniu who answered: 'We have been cooperating with the Legionary Movement since 1942...'

"Maniu polled the British and the Americans about the cooperation with the legionaries... The British and American political and military spokesmen did not object. Maniu also consulted with Dinu Brătianu and Titel Petrescu. They both agreed to the cooperation with the Legionary Movement. Alongside of the Liberal and the Social-Democratic parties, they accepted the legionaries.

"The legionaries were there all the time there in our terrible confrontation with the communists. They were with us in the electoral campaign of 1946... On November 19 there were fake elections and on November 30 King Mihai I inaugurated the so-called Great National Assembly against Maniu's advice, who thought that the king should not have given semblance of legitimacy to those elections."

Maniu's Foreign Policy

"On April 4, 1934, Iuliu Maniu, in a question relating to the country's foreign policy, addressed in the Chamber of Deputies to the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Titulescu, stated:

"'Therefore, I have been from the very beginning of the opinion that after the emergence of the national states in the south of Europe, they will have to unite shortly in a powerful South-East European confederacy, with the purpose of establishing a common force and a united economic area.

"'Prompted by the knowledge of that inescapable necessity, exactly ten years ago, in the spring of 1924, in a speech I gave at the Social Institute I was saying: 'I believe with all my heart that this country will endure only if we install a system of law, morality and freedom for all on its territory. I have an adamant conviction that our national ideal has not yet been achieved with the reestablishing of our current boundaries. That nation cannot be prosperous that is not capable of setting for itself more and more noble aims, ever more splendid grand ideals, which should be worthy of our concern, our struggle, our sacrifices, and our martyrdom.'"

It emerges from the above that Maniu gladly accepted to cooperate with the Legionary Movement. He agreed that there was a Jewish problem in Romania, since they constituted a powerful ethnic minority that dominated the country's economy. He also acknowledged that this minority had taken over the educated professions, but stated that he disagreed with Codreanu's solution to that problem, without however indicating what was his own solution. As we see above, he underlined that apart from the solution to the Jewish problem there were no differences between his programme and that of Codreanu.

In all areas of the Jewish problem, as concerns the social, the economic, the cultural aspect, and so on, all Codreanu wanted to do was to make the strength and influence of the Jewish minority proportionate with its demographic strength in the country.

The circumstances described above prevailed while the Jews were that numerous minority that Maniu speaks about; today however things are different. As we all know, the number of the Jews in Romania has sunk to approximately 20,000, which constitutes a minority that no longer can become a problem for a nation. That means that at the same time as the Jewish problem went away, so did the only point in which Maniu's political programme was different from that of Codreanu. Then, how can those who exert an influence upon Romania's political life justify their exclusive and inimical policy, when they refuse to cooperate with the Legionary Movement, while at the same time vigorously claiming that they have been and continue to be prompted by the principles of a "democratic" government?

In the past, after Antonescu's demise, the historical political parties and the Western Allies accepted to cooperate with the Legionary Movement. It was only the Russians and the communist party they installed in power that opposed such a cooperation. On what grounds rests the attitude of those who even today oppose the participation of the Legionary Movement in Romania's political life? For, no matter how strong the selfish partisan interests of the "received" political formations, and, let us at the same time acknowledge that, no matter how enormous the difficulties they encounter in their attempt to reenter the consciences of the people -- in the case of the historical parties--, no matter how embittered the ideological enmity of the National Salvation Front which even today draws its inspiration from the bankrupt doctrine of Marx, -- still, a minimum of tolerance for all citizens must be observed; if that minimum is not granted, then we have before us an abusive attitude, an

attitude that is incompatible with the notion of democracy under whose banner they claim that they began their existence.

Traian Golea

THE LEGIONARY MOVEMENT SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF ACTUAL EVENTS, EYEWITNESS REPORTS, AND DEPOSITIONS

After the triumph of the Red Revolution in Russia in 1917, in Central and Eastern Europe there were conditions favorable to the spreading of communism, partly because of the social misery resulting from World War I, and especially as a result of the work of communist agents who had infiltrated and were supported by the Soviet Union and by a powerful conspiracy in the liberal-minded circles of Europe and America.

Demonstrations and the Strike at the *Regia Autonomă* Factory in Yassy

In 1920, signs reading *Down with the King! Down with the army! Long live the communist revolution! Long live the Soviet Union!* appeared hanging from buildings, and there was a rash of strikes and workers' demonstrations that were meant to pave the way for a takeover in Romania too. I illustrate the atmosphere and the events of those crucial years for our country's future with a few quotes from Corneliu Codreanu's *For the Legionaries,* pp. 21-23:

"It was on February 10 or 11, 1920. For two weeks there had been talk of a general countrywide strike. The final battle was approaching... A strike broke out at the *Regia*, the red flag was hoisted, the images of the King were taken down and replaced with photographs of Karl Marx and Trotzki...

"There were about one hundred people at headquarters at the National Conscience Guard. Pancu held the chair. There were two distinct opinions: some suggested sending wired messages to the government, requesting that the army intervene. I was of the opinion that we should all go to the *Regia* and take down the red flag at any cost. My opinion prevailed ... We start marching toward the *Regia* at a brisk pace, singing *Deşteaptă-te Române* [Romania's

current national anthem]. A few communist groups are soon routed in the street.

"We enter the yard and then the building. I climb to the roof with the national flag and raise it. I start speaking from there ... News of my action spread rapidly throughout the city. Still the strike of the workers of the *Regia Autonomă* continues. We find suitable work force and start production at that factory. In three days, there came 400 workers from all over Yassy ... and the factory started producing. The strike was unsuccessful ... That action had a powerful effect among the Romanians ..."

The Strike at the *Nicolina* Railroad Shops

"The most powerful communist concentration was at the *Nicolina* Railroad Shops, where there were over 4,000 workers. The parts of town around that plant, namely Podul Roş, Socola, and Nicolina, were full of Jews ... The leader of the communists in Yassy, Dr. Ghelerter, and his aide Gheler, set up their basis there. Hardly a month had passed since their defeat at the *Regia,* and, to signal the beginning of the general strike and of the decisive battle, the red flag appeared on top of this plant. The strike was on. Thousands of workers left their work ... The authorities were helpless.

"We summoned all Romanians for a meeting on the next day. After the speeches were over, we set out marching under the flag toward Nicolina. The authorities stop us in the Piaţa Unirii square and advise us not to go there, for there are about 5,000 armed communists there waiting for us and they foresee great bloodshed.

"We reach the railway station, where we hoist the national flag on the depot and on the main building. Then we climb on a train and start toward Nicolina, where we enter the plant on our train. We disembark. The red flag is on one of the buildings. I start climbing an iron ladder, carrying the

national flag between my teeth, and with some difficulty I reach the roof. I take down the red flag and among truly undescribably enthusiastic cheering I raise and secure the national three-colored flag. I give a speech from there.

"Outside the walls, the communists gather forming a compact mass ... An infernal noise: inside cheering, outside jeers and curses. I descend. Pancu orders the retreat. At the gates, the thronging communists bar the exit and shout: we want Pancu and Codreanu! Three of us advance thirty yards before the crowd and we start toward the gate: Pancu in the middle, Mărgărint at his right, I at his left. The three of us advance in silence, clasping our guns in our pockets. The group at the gate regard us, silent and motionless. There are only a few steps between us. I expect to hear bullets whistling in my ears. We advance, erect and decided ... it was an unusual psychic moment. Only two more steps. The communists fall back to the sides, leaving an open corridor about ten yards wide. We pass through in deep silence. Not a sound to hear, not even the sound of breathing in and out ... Our people follow us. They, too, come out, but no longer in silence. Curses and threats start pouring out on both sides. No physical violence, however. We make toward the station. On top of the plant, our victorious national colors flutter in the wind.

"The moral influence that action has had is indescribable. The entire city is agog. All talk in the street is about the National Conscience Guard. An atmosphere of Romanian reawakening is everywhere. We realize that bolshevism will be defeated because before and around it there has emerged a barrier of conscience that will not let it expand."

The political struggles of those times -- the years immediately following the restoration -- that call forth horror in the bosom of the broad masses of the indifferent and of the ignorant, have been a constant topic, always described

in ill faith, being misrepresented as the conflict between two "extreme" camps engaged in a power struggle, as if the very fate of the Romanian people had not been at stake in those conflicts.

To preclude any possible misinterpretation or mystification of the parts played and the actions taken, let us define them again here: in those events in the first decades of this century after World War I, on one side were the communists with their slogans: Down with the King! Down with the army! Long live the communist revolution! Long live the Soviet Union! and with workers' demonstrations and strikes by which means they wanted to turn Romania into a soviet republic;

And Who Was on the Other Side?

Before those slogans appeared on posters in the streets, and before the communist or pro-communist newspapers started demanding the demise of the King and of the army, and all that, and before the workers started striking and demonstrating in the street and shouting those same slogans, "the others," "the other extremists," did not even exist. It was only when the danger became obvious that Romania would be destroyed by the conflagration of the communist revolution, only when that danger became clear and ominous, that a handful of people grouped in the National Conscience Guard around Pancu and Codreanu became active, as a response aimed at saving the country and the people. They took down the red flag and set production going at the *Regia Autonomă* plant, defeating in this manner the plans of Ghelerter and Gheler. The same people entered the *Nicolina* railway shop and took down the red flag -- that symbol of the "victorious proletariat", and replaced it with the national flag. Those were, then, the "unpardonable crimes" perpetrated by the "extreme right-wingers", "crimes" that cannot be forgiven by the communists and by those

who conspire with them. From their standpoint, those "right-wing" interventions are indeed unpardonable, since they were the impediments that prevented the communist takeover in Romania a quarter of a century earlier. That is why, and that is when, the leftist forces began their wide slander campaign against the Legionary Movement; and those slanders continue to be repeated like an obsession by those who have vested interests, those who are cowardly, those who are unaware, and those who are ignorant, who have swallowed that line whole and go on repeating it.

The Opening of the University of Yassy in 1920

It was not only strikes and workers' demonstrations in Yassy at that time. The leftist action and the communist conspiracy involved members of intellectual circles and penetrated to the core of university life, also profoundly affected in that city. We cite here some excerpts from ***For the Legionaries,*** the chapter *The Opening of the University*, p. 41:

"For the first time in the history of Yassy University, that University's Senate announced the opening of the school year without the blessing of priests and without a mass. To understand our grief it must be stated that for half a century, without interruption, that festivity had been the University's most beautiful event. The entire Senate participated, and so did all professors, all students, and all new applicants; the flower of Yassy's intellectuals were present. It was the Metropolitan of Moldavia or his deputy that officiated, blessing the beginning of the work for the prosperity of the culture of the Romanian nation. And now our University was divesting itself, by this action of the University's Senate, of the lustre of its semicentennial tradition.

"What was more painful still, the University of the Christian City of Yassy, the highest Romanian place of

learning, was waging in those troubled times the war against God, expelling God from school life, from our institutions, from our country.

"With the exception of four or five whom we knew, the professors of Yassy University received with great satisfaction the anti-Christian decision of the Senate ... The communist students were overjoyed, the Jews triumphed, and a few of us were asking ourselves with heavy hearts how long will it be before the churches are demolished and the priests crucified on the altars in their vestments.

"Our group of about eight students with national feelings who happened to be in Yassy knocked fruitlessly at the doors of several professors ... Our repeated attempts yielded no results.

"And then on the eve, we decided upon a serious course of action: to oppose the opening of the school year by force ... At six o'clock in the morning I headed for the University accompanied by Vladimir Frimu ... We locked and barred the back door and left Frimu there. Using red pencil, I made a poster that I affixed on the main great door: "I hereby communicate to all students and all professors that this University will open only after the traditional mass" ... At eight o'clock the students started arriving. I held the door until about nine thirty, when there were already about 300 students gathered in front of the University ... Then, lead by Marin, the head of the communists, they broke the door open, seized me, and dragged me to the great hall where they whirled me from one end of the hall to the other for almost half an hour, hitting me on the head all the time with sticks and with their fists ... Finally they dropped me ... I was sitting in a corner thinking of the sadness of my defeat. But the triumph of my adversaries did not last long, for shortly the University's Secretary came down from the Rector's Office carrying in his hand a poster reading: "This is to certify that the Rector has decided to close the Univer-

sity until Wednesday, when it will open with a religious mass." It was a great triumph that filled me with joy.

"Wednesday morning, in the overcrowded hall, mass was officiated. All congratulated me. Professor A.C. Cuza gave an indescribably beautiful speech. Ever since I have believed that if a man fights for God and his people, even alone, he will never be defeated.

"Those struggles, especially those of the *Regia Autonomă* and of the *Nicolina* plant, and now that of the University, had a powerful effect upon public opinion. Our adversaries began to realize that bolshevism cannot be promoted without encountering serious obstacles, even if it is being favored by almost all college professors, the entire press, all Jews, the greatest part of the workers, while it is being opposed only by a small number of students who rely in their fight against those huge resources only on their gigantic faith in their country's future. Those young persons were the spokesmen of the resisting will that sprang from the earth like a rocky barrier that cannot be crossed unimpeded -- what is more, cannot be crossed at all. Our adversaries did not fear us; they feared our determination."

Later, those justly labelled "reactionary" forces grouped themselves successively in several formations and found a final realization in Corneliu Codreanu's organization known under the name *The Legion of Archangel Michael*. As we see, it was born of the nation's need to defend itself against its internal enemies, especially the communists, who wanted to see our independent country and nation wiped off the face of Europe.

Codreanu's Thoughts and Future Plans

After the communist threat was defeated by the nationalist trend created by the Legion, the internal enemies

that remained were our leading class's demagogy and corruption, which continued to be turned to good account by the conspirators for their purpose. The Legion never had any other aim than eliminating the internal communist threat and morally rehabilitating political life throughout the country. Corneliu Codreanu proposed to achieve that by creating a citizen who should be incorruptible, honest, hard-working, ready to sacrifice his own advantage for that of the nation and, if needed, to sacrifice even his own life for the nation. His adversaries strove in vain to attribute to him other goals, other than the benefit of the nation, inspirations which allegedly came to him from abroad, even accompanied by financial support; time and history have proved that all those allegations were nothing but calumnies disseminated in ill faith. We quote here, again from ***For the Legionaries,*** Corneliu Codreanu's description of Romanian society in those days, and his account of his ideas and his plans for the nation's future:

"We did not draw up a political programme, on top of the ten existing ones, all of which are *perfect* in the eyes of their authors and their supporters ... And from this point of view we are completely different from all other political organizations ... They all believe that this country's demise is caused by lack of good programmes, and so they draw up a perfect programme and then set out with it to gather supporters for it ... This country's demise is caused by lack of people, not lack of programmes ... Thus it is not programmes that we must create but people, new people, for the way people are now, having been educated by politicization ... they will ruin the most brilliant programmes. That is why the cornerstone on which the Legion builds is man, and not the political programme. Reform man, not the political programmes. Our Legion will be therefore more of an educational organization than a political party ... A new man must graduate from this school ... The best that our mind can conceive in a human soul, the most glorious that our ancestry can produce, the highest, the most just, the

strongest, the wisest, the purest, the most hard-working and the most brave - that is what the Legionary School must produce! A man in whom ... all capabilities for human grandeur that God implanted in our nation's blood should be achieved. This man graduated from the legionary school will know how to draw up programmes ... will know how to organize the state properly ... This legionary of courage, of work, and of justice, with God's power planted in his soul, will lead our nation on its way to its greatness ... We will create a spiritual atmosphere, a moral environment in which this heroic man will be born and will be nurtured and will grow."

One would expect that, in those times that were so difficult for the Romanian nation, a greater number of people should have stepped in to save it -- considering that the communists were ten times as many. For what would have happened if more people had taken action against the communists? Then their attempts would have been futile, or at any rate, marginal. A political régime would have been set up that would have been the offspring of the national consciousness of the majority, showing a definite distaste for communism that could have protected Romanian society from the internal painful processes that took place at that time. There would have been no place and no call for "extremism". However, since it was not to be so, since the whole town stood apparently paralyzed with fear of the communist threat, it was necessary that this small group should emerge and save the day through its dramatic action.

But the crucial question that arises is the following: what would have happened in Romania if not even that reaction had been called forth, that is, if there had not been a Codreanu and a Pancu with their mates, to oppose communism and even defeat it? We have already answered this question; Romania would have subsided to communism as early as that, in 1920. But how do they answer this question, those who so persistently even today go on attacking

the so-called "extreme right wing?" Of course, they avoid raising this question that could unveil the embarrassing conclusion that they are siding with those who did not have the courage to defend the interests of the nation, who lack civic courage, who have only personal promotion in mind, who are cowardly, mean, or opportunistic.

It is easy to see why the conspirators and the Marxist militants look upon the Legionary Movement even today as their greatest enemy. In 1920 there arose that Romanian spirit that has kept us alive as a nation throughout the millennia and that found expression in the Legionary Movement and impeded the attempt to turn Romania into a communist society. That leads us to the conclusion that what matters is not so much the existence of an organization as the spirit that governs it. In other words, it is not so important to be a member of the Legionary Movement as it is to be motivated by those inner forces that prompted Codreanu to climb, with the national flag between his teeth, on the roof of the *Nicolina* shop and take down the red flag of Marxist internationalism and plant the national colors, symbol of our Romanian nationality, instead. If your soul is filled with such impulses, and if you act prompted by such feelings, you will be accounted to be a legionary whether you agree or not -- to be one of Codreanu's followers; for that is the abomination of all ill-wishers.

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